

# THE SYNDICALIST

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WHOLE NO. 49

## The Passing Show

### CHANGING THE NAME.

On changing the place of publication we have changed the name of THE AGITATOR to THE SYNDICALIST, the latter being a more representative title.

### SYNDICALISM TO THE WORKERS.

The Syndicalist League is not a party, nor is it a labor union. It is composed of associated groups of workers drawn together for the purpose of educating themselves and their fellow-workers. It is not a body of theorists. It has no new-fangled ideas to propagate. It merely points out the failures of the past, and shows how they may be avoided in the future.

One of the strong points about Syndicalism is that it does not take the workers away from their work. It does not ask them to join any new party or union. It does not take them into new fields of effort, where they are unacquainted. It does not divide their energies and attentions. It does not, on the one hand, tell them their unions are the only thing, and, on the other, that they must vote for this or that party if they want to be free. It does not confuse them with a dualistic philosophy. It is monistic. It is modern.

It says to the workers: "You have been in the unions long enough to know that they are a mighty force in your favor. You have done much so far for yourselves through unionism, but the limit is not yet reached; it is far, far off. Only you have to change your tactics. You must profit by your past experience. If you will follow up, closely, the causes of past failures you will not only improve your conditions under capitalism, but you can even destroy the wage system and institute co-operative production and consumption."

"All this you can do by the simple act of studying your own case; and thusly you can do yourselves, with your own hands, what the politicians glibly promise they will do for you, but cannot. For it is the plainest lesson of history that no man can talk himself or his fellows into freedom; that this precious gift of mankind can only be achieved by those who with their own strong arms strike the blow that shatters the chains of slavery."

A strike is lost. Does that prove that strikes are failures? Nothing of the kind. It simply shows that under certain conditions they fail. The failure shows the weak point, and Syndicalism urges the workers to the task of strengthening that weak spot, and thus by a systematic

upbuilding make the now weak organization of labor an invulnerable bulwark against defeat.

Does this life of working eternally for a boss pall on you? Would you like a change? Syndicalism points the way. You don't have to leave your union nor join this or that party. Just stay where you are, where you have been schooled, where you have the field to yourself, where you know how to work. Only don't waste all your brain energy on the boss. He thinks while you work. That's how he has enslaved you. You begin to think about your own welfare and your liberty is at hand.

Syndicalism teaches one thing that, above all else, is of vital worth. It is this: That talk is good, but it takes action, direct action, to build a Brooklyn bridge or to spin a top. It shows us—and we should have seen it long ago—that, while the loafers do all the talking, we, the toilers, do all the work, and that if they stopped talking for a thousand years the world would not be effected in the least, except for good. But if we stopped working for a week, those who survived would never forget the catastrophe.

By our silent labor the world is fed and clothed and housed. In our hands lie the destinies of the world. The rulers of the earth, with their glittering show of power, of soldiers in gaudy dress, their navies and cannon and all that, are mere toys to be tossed aside, if we but fold our arms and cease to feed them.

Here, then, is the key to our emancipation, right in our own hands. Strike, and the world is ours.

### THE BRUTAL MAJORITY.

Governor West of Oregon has some very progressive ideas on penology. Among them is a pronounced opposition to capital punishment. This is not an extreme idea. But it was a very strong pill for the people of Oregon, as we shall presently see.

Governor West put the question of abolishing this cruel and most inhuman practice of hanging men and women "by the neck until they are dead" up to the people at the recent election. Pending the election he reprieved five men who had been sentenced to death. This fact was well advertised by the humanists who were working for the abolition of the murderous law. Every voter knew when he put the cross on his ballot that by that act he was either taking the lives of five men or saving them from the gallows. It was put up to each man personally. Five human lives depended on him, immediately, not to mention future lives.

Who has so little faith in the humanity of his fellow-man as to think that when the question was put before him as this was he would prove a murderer five times over? But he did? The majority voted for the blood of these five men, and for that of all other human beings who might be convicted as they were, whether guilty or not.

Stunned by the brutality of the people, the governor refused to exercise his prerogative of commuting the sentences to imprisonment, except in one case. Perhaps he reasoned that to let the bloodthirsty people have their feast would cause a revulsion so great, not only in Oregon but in neighboring states, that a general agitation

against the revolting practice would be created which would in time result in the abolition of capital punishment everywhere.

At any rate, four men were hanged at the Salem penitentiary, in the presence of 100 invited guests, who were privileged to witness the gruesome work of quadruple murder by command of the people.

Faulder, one of the victims, in a clear, strong voice, told the people who came to see him hanged a truth so simple and so profound that it should be engraved on the hearts of every one of the majority who voted his life away. Stepping to the railing of the scaffold, he said: "*Hanging will never cure crime. You've got to get at the root of the evil.*"

Stop hanging men and women, and go seek the cause. Go to the jails, ye people of Oregon and elsewhere, and you will see that they are populated by poor men—men without property. Examine the records of their "crimes" and you will see that 95 per cent are "crimes" against property or due to property. What does that mean, ye people, ye "owners," large and small, of the wealth of the country, *whose solid vote kept the murder law in Oregon?* It means that these "criminals" are largely the rebels from the working class, whose wealth you have stolen under the law, and who attempted to get some of it back outside of the law. The prisons are necessary to your plunder of the workers. But your plunder will cease, not by your gracious will, but by the will of the plundered class. And when your reign of plunder will be abruptly ended, and the workers can keep the wealth they create, the end of hanging and of prisons will be at hand, for your crime is the cause of them, and that is the root of the evil.

Jay Fox.

### AWAY WITH LEADERS!

We should not be a mass; that is to say, we should not share the prejudices, the preoccupations, the errors, the customs of the unthinking multitude. The mass has a firm belief in the necessity of a chief or leader who must be at their head, who must conduct them to their goal, bring them to tyranny or freedom, guide them by caresses, or by spitting in their faces, for good or for ill.

This habit, so rooted in the human being, is the fount of inexhaustible evils for the redemption of the race. Life, honor, welfare, the future, liberty—all are placed at the disposition of him who has been made chief. It is the chief who must think for all; it is the chief who is charged with the duty of watching for the well-being and liberty of the mass in general and the individual in particular, the result being that there are millions of brains among the mass that never think, because the chief has to think for all. Thus, it comes about that the masses remain passive, that they have no initiative, and that they drag out a sheep existence; wheedled at election times by the politicians and place hunters, who beat them when the elections are over; deceived during times of revolutionary action by the promises of the ambitious, who reward them with kicks for their self-sacrifice when the victory has been won.

There should be no mass; there should be a league of thinking individualities, united among themselves for the attainment of certain ends; each, whether man or woman, thinking with his or her own head; each exerting himself or herself to give an opinion as to what must be done to realize our aspirations, which are no other than the liberty of all based on the liberty of each, the welfare of all based on the welfare of each.—From the Spanish of Ricardo Flores Magon.

# THE SYNDICALIST

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**Of all the discoveries which men need to make, the most important, at the present moment, is that of the self-forming power treasured up in themselves.**

—Channing.

## TO SUBSCRIBERS OF THE AGITATOR

The Agitator, under its new title, The Syndicalist, is now entering upon the third year of its existence, and it has a few words to say, personally, to every one of its friends and subscribers. When it was started many of you thought it would not last three months and were, consequently, reluctant to give support to what you saw was shortly to become a corpse.

The Agitator has lived for two years, and you will admit it is the liveliest corpse you ever saw. Indeed, so much alive is it that we have been urged for months by many of you in different parts of the continent to move to an industrial center, preferably Chicago, where it would come into closer touch with the toiling masses, whose cause 't champions, and where it would be of greater service to them. We have yielded to the arguments, and beginning with this—the first number of Volume Three—The Agitator will issue from Chicago, the hub of industrial America.

The editorial and business ends will remain at home, until the editor is released from his entanglements with the law of the State of Washington.

When we get the editorial, business and publication ends united in Chicago we are planning to increase the size of The Agitator and make it a weekly. The success of this plan rests largely upon you, who read and circulate it. Every publication depends upon its subscribers for success, but none so much as a radical paper.

The Agitator is no longer a speculation. The fact that it has survived two years of doubt and indifference on the part of many whose active support it counted on from the start, and the further fact that it has withstood the persecution of the State is sufficient proof that it is fit to survive. Now that it seeks a larger field of activity, where its circulation will be increased and its influence more widely felt, it feels it has a greater right to solicit your active support.

Growth is the only evidence of life and progress. In getting into the pulsing life of the metropolis, The Agitator is following the path of evolution, and it sincerely hopes you will give it the assistance it requires to carry the message of freedom to the toiling masses of our fellow workers.

The Agitator was the first paper to voice the claims of Syndicalism in America. Since the first article appeared eight months ago Syndicalism has taken firm root in this country. Leagues have sprung up in numerous cities and these leagues have established a temporary headquarters in Chicago, giving it the name "The Syndicalist League of North America."

The Agitator will continue to espouse the cause of Syndicalism, which it regards as the most important phase of propaganda ever evolved.

It is our object to make The Agitator the liveliest

and best Syndicalist paper in the English language, and no one who is interested in the progressive labor movement can afford to be without it.

Whether you believe wholly in Syndicalism or not, you surely cannot be out of touch with this new phase of the labor movement that is growing rapidly in every part of the country.

Indeed, it will be our constant endeavor to keep our readers well posted on every phase of the labor movement and make The Agitator a real review of the labor world.

But, we repeat, we must have your active support in this matter. We cannot make this paper grow unless you take hold and push its circulation.

A man well fitted to judge has said, but not to us: "The Agitator contains more ideas to the square inch than any other publication in America." That sounds good to every friend of the paper, but what is the good of a stock of ideas unless we can circulate them?

The very best way to push the circulation, and one every reader can follow, is to get three-month subscriptions at 25 cents. With a little effort, there is no reader but can get a few of them, and most of you can get many. All together, friends. Begin by renewing your own subscriptions.

Fraternally,

THE PUBLISHERS.

## CONCERTED ACTION NEEDED.

Having retired from the editorship of the English section of "Regeneracion" (the Mexican revolutionary weekly), I am anxious to organize a press propaganda that shall deal in a live and practical way with the vital questions now agitating the country. Experience in newspaper work and in the movement convinces me that a great and imperatively needed educational work can be done by using the publicity machinery already established. Thousands of papers in this country welcome well-written articles on the social question, however radical may be the views expressed, and articles could be syndicated that would reach weekly an army of readers.

The vote given Roosevelt—who is essentially a State Socialist—and the increased Socialist Party vote make it clear that numbers are eager for such State Socialist experiments as are being tried—and, in my opinion, are proving utter failures—in Australia. They believe devoutly that such palliatives will give relief.

On the other hand, there is a widespread sentiment that we want fewer laws, less regulation, fewer officials, fewer politicians. That sentiment is growing rapidly and it is bound to grow, for time is driving home steadily the seriousness of the social problem.

In a word, the lines between Anarchist and Socialist tendencies are being drawn as they never were drawn before, though naturally the great majority, which has no clear conception of either philosophy, is unconscious of it. It is self-evident, however, that those who have lost confidence in regulation must incline to Anarchism, whether they know it or not, and that those who still have faith in regulation are in the Socialist camp.

Within the last year I have received hundreds of letters, the gist of which is that the public is yearning for clear-cut writing on these perplexing questions and cannot get it. Newspaper men generally are beginning to recognize this, as is shown by the growing disposition of the capitalist press to open special departments, headed "Public Letter Box," "Public Forum," etc.

Never was there, in my opinion at least, such an opportunity for propaganda, but concerted action is necessary. The fact is that we have an immense amount of literary talent now lying idle because our own small journals cannot possibly give it a sufficient outlet. That talent should be at our service and should be glad to co-operate.

Such an organization as I suggest would benefit our own struggling press, for it would stimulate interest at a thousand points from which subscriptions and support would eventually come.

Moreover, concerted action is necessary because our editors, single-handed, cannot even begin to prospect the field or handle the correspondence which deluges them.

If those who feel interested, and consider themselves capable of work, would write me, I believe

we could soon and with little difficulty have a substantial organization at work.

WM. C. OWEN.

2 Temple Court, Los Angeles, Cal.

## RUSSIANISM IN LITTLE FALLS STRIKE.

More than two thousand textile workers in Little Falls have been on strike since October 10. They came out in rebellion against a reduction in wages ranging from 75 cents to \$2 per week.

When it is considered that the average wages of these workers was less than \$7 per week, the inhuman viciousness of this reduction should be plain to all.

These workers have since been fighting desperately for their lives against a police persecution as brutal and reckless as has ever been seen in this country. In the face of tremendous provocation, they have remained peaceful and non-resistant. They have practically tied up the textile industry in Little Falls, and all that they need to win a decisive victory is YOUR support.

A victory in this struggle means much, as it will undoubtedly affect the textile industry throughout the Mohawk valley. Already the strike has begun to spread to nearby towns, and an effort will be made to make it general, with Little Falls as the center.

To do this your aid is needed. The strikers have perfected a strong organization, which has withstood the murderous assaults of the police thugs. Nearly all the officials and original strike committee members are in jail, charged with rioting and assault, as a result of brutal attacks by police cosacks upon strikers while peacefully parading the streets.

Socialists who came from Schenectady to help the strikers by establishing relief stations and speaking for them have been brutally beaten and jailed.

The strikers' headquarters have been broken into by police and all contents wantonly destroyed. The strikers are forced to carry on much of their work in secrecy. Yet their spirit is undaunted and they are determined to win. This is the most important struggle for better conditions ever waged in this part of the country. Vicious, foul and lying newspapers are spreading much misrepresentation of the real conditions here.

Workers, everywhere, rally to the support of the strikers in Little Falls!

Don't permit the Russian methods of the blood-thirsty police in this struggle to be successful. Hold meetings. Mail or wire protests to Governor Dix, State Capitol, Albany; Mayor Shall, Little Falls, and Congressman Talcott, Utica, New York.

Send all funds to Textile Workers' Strike Committee, Robert A. Bakeman, P. O. Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

## BORING FROM WITHIN.

In 1908 I, through Local No. 420, I. W. W., New York City, submitted to the fourth convention amendments to the constitution making provision for a propaganda organization to carry on a systematic campaign of education, and thus get away from the sporadic methods used to that date and now still in use.

Since that time I have had some experience boring from within the Western Federation of Miners and can say that it was so successful in the locality where I was located that I attended the following convention as a delegate.

The unseating of Hammond and myself in 1909 and Campbell in 1912 was the result of the "go it alone" methods employed. With systematic organized effort of those on the job, not directed in their actions by any individual or organization on the outside, but, by the exact knowledge that their peculiar positions give them, there is no doubt in my mind that the fighting W. F. of M. will regain its lost glory.

The fighting spirit of the miners is still alive and its smouldering embers have burst to flame in Utah, Nevada and Ontario in defiance of the recognized (?) authority of their officials. With the rebels on the job, what a conflagration could be started!

I have joined the Syndicalist League of North America—an organization that teaches that men must rely upon themselves if they want freedom.

J. A. JONES.

## KROPOTKINE

To make oneself a real historian by tracing the development of tendencies and those dominant motives that urge our race to struggle; to become a scientist, not for the sake of acquiring prominence in the new hierarchy of learning, but to uncover life's true meaning; to face facts and from them to deduce those economic truths which power and privilege strive unceasingly to hide; to attack superstition under all its guises and subject current thought to analysis that spares neither friend nor foe—to do all that is master work. It is the work to which Kropotkine has devoted unceasingly a life that now has rounded out its seventy years, and to Kropotkine the Worker there is owing a debt, the great sum of which we, his contemporaries, cannot possibly appreciate. We cannot follow the burning thought he has evoked wherever literature circulates; we cannot track the action that thought has set in motion. All we know is that the seed is sound, that the sower has toiled untiringly, and that the harvest will be reaped.

How carelessly we read; how imperatively are needed the events that make the mind receptive; how long the husbandman must wait for his reward. It is in my own memory that, thirty years ago, I would translate into English, and publish as best I could, everything by Kropotkine on which I could lay my hands, for he had set them ablaze with hope and indignation. His writings had revolutionized my own life and convinced me of the necessity of universal revolution; he had taught me that all literature must be rewritten to correspond with newer and truer views; he had shown me the sternness of the economic struggle and the power of the allied privileges that mass themselves under the shelter of the State; he had made me understand the legend of Calvary, wherein the Christ, as representing rebellion against authority, is crucified between the thieves who ventured to assail the sanctity of property; he had made me, in a word, a rebel, inspired with those prodigious hopes which, as he himself so clearly shows, are the mothers of revolutions. Then came the long, lean years, the years of seemingly universal apathy, the years in which puny individual efforts seemed infinitesimal drops in a limitless ocean of indifference.

How carelessly we read, and how dull is the impression made by books until events have sharpened and driven home their lessons! To me the historical writings of Kropotkine, with their wealth of facts and bold analysis, have been the most attractive portion of his product, and I had read "The Great French Revolution" with deep interest and, as I supposed, conscientious care. Yet, going through it once again, I am astonished at the extent to which my own paltry connection with the Mexican Revolution has given life to incidents and passages to which I had been previously cold. How well he shows that of the two great thought currents that begot the French revolution, the current of political readjustments came from the middle class, and that of decisive economic action from the workers! How lucidly he demonstrates that the undermining work accomplished by the critics of feudalism would have been sterile but for the supplemental action of the despised peasant, which bridged the gulf from theory to practice! But also what an appalling lesson he conveys in his exhibit of the middle class as finally triumphant because it knew precisely what it wanted! The French revolution is a colossal warning that what the workers needs above all else is hard, uncompromising thought; it is our most impressive example of the inexorable truth that the seed must be sown profusely and cultivated assiduously before the harvest can be reaped; that the brain dictates, and that whatever action may be taken finally will correspond inevitably to the mental concepts previously formed. It is a call to untiring propaganda, to a propaganda that refuses to sacrifice permanent truth to the confusion-breeding expediencies of the moment, a call for an immense simplification of the program, that the masses may be able to understand precisely and see their way distinctly. This demand for clear, simple and unflinching thought permeates all Kropotkine's historical work, and in his treatment of the Paris commune and similar upheavals he

always shows us the masses helpless, and finally crushed, because uncertain.

The current of ideas; the long, patient propaganda that molds the brain which eventually must direct the hand. Kropotkine never loses sight of that, but it seems to me that nowadays—and especially in nervous, unthinking America—revolutionists, in their eagerness for mass action, are in danger of lending themselves to entangling alliances that, muddying thought and obscuring principles, will lead again to that uncertain action which ends in nothing. The public history of the United States labor movement teams with the records of organizations that have swollen for the moment to prodigious size and as quickly shrunk out of existence. Its private history, as exemplified in countless co-operative experiments, is the tale of earnest men and women who failed, because zeal usurped the place of thought, internal splits developing naturally from the fact that the would-be co-operators were divided in ideals and aims. Throughout the revolutionary movement in the United States assuredly there is always a tendency to truckle to the mob; to secure circulation, audiences, a following, by yielding vital points; to purchase popularity at any price. It is, in my humble judgment, the greatest of all the evils that democracy, with its passion for mass action, inflicts on us, since there can be no greater self-delusion than to suppose that a wrong road becomes right when thousands tread it. Against that fallacy all Kropotkine's revolutionary writings protest.

It will be seen that I have the highest regard for the prodigious life work Kropotkine has performed, and I take his career to be a signal illustration of the power that comes from making one's alliance with truth rather than with the veering policies of the mass. Kropotkine's life is itself the noblest example of the influence wielded by the individual who is true to himself, for I believe it would be correct to say that he is the most widely read author of modern times, since his works have been translated into all the leading languages, and especially in pamphlet form are distributed and eagerly perused wherever radical thought has found a lodgment. But we owe it alike to him and to ourselves to study him with discrimination, and I confess that in his treatment of the individual and the collectivity I, for my part find myself constantly at variance with his judgment. To me he has an invincible optimism which credits the mass with qualities it does not possess; to me he minimizes unduly the inevitable conflict between the trained intellect which aches to overthrow the obstacles to progress, and the timid, dull, untutored mind, which, lacking self-confidence, invariably harks back to the prejudices of the past and takes shelter in reaction. To me, Kropotkine in the buoyance of his hope is too instinctively a believer in the Collectivity and less of the stern Individualist than are Anarchists of the Tucker and Stirner type. My natural inclinations lead me to take the Kropotkine view; my intellectual conviction is that the Stirner type comes nearer to the truth.

For my part I consider the freedom of the individual the one essential aim, for I hold that society springs from the individual, and that to prefer the created to its creator is to put the cart before the horse and to paralyze all effort. I consider that Socialist, Communist and other Collectivist theories must be left to work themselves out in practice and prove their merits by results, after the economic and political freedom of the individual has been won. It is thus that knowledge has progressed in every other field of human thought, and I cannot imagine why Sociology should be an exception to the universal rule. I look, therefore, to the securing of economic equality of opportunity and self-rule for the individual as the entire struggle; I regard the conquest of the right to individual life—a right that must be secure from all invasion—as the task in hand.

To me, Kropotkine expects too much revolutionary action from the masses. I believe, on the other hand, that the individual rebel is the greater force. I think events have shown, and will show still more convincingly, that the unfettered individualism taught by the Nietzsches and Stirners is the true revolutionary philosophy, and that when we ally ourselves with Collectivism we tie ourselves to

stagnation and consequent reaction. I am very positive that, with individuality as feebly developed as it is at present, society is divided into the movers and the moved, and that the contest is very largely against the latter, who usually look on the former as their mortal foes. I cannot conceive it possible that the intelligent and bold action needed to overthrow a system rooted in ignorance and cowardice can come from the very majority that upholds that system so fatuously. According to my thought the enlightened and determined few must give the impetus; the vast conservative collectivity following after, as it always has, and as, by the law of development, it always must.

Kropotkine himself affords the proof. Let a thousand Kropotkines develop themselves within the next few years, putting themselves through the rigid intellectual and character training he has undergone; let that miracle take place and the revolutionary movement will be very different from what it is today. We then shall have a clear-cut, uncompromising propaganda which, based on elemental truths and dealing with the elementary needs of life, will reach every corner of the earth and be intelligible to the dullest understanding.

To me, Kropotkine's long life role has been that of an educator of educators, a mover of movers, a begetter of individual rebels who hand out the torch. I deem him one of the master builders who lay, sure and strong, the foundations of the great edifice that has yet to be. To the rearing of that edifice untold millions will contribute, but they will build on the foundations laid by the Kropotkines, by the men and women who have worked their way unflinchingly for the final goal and refusing to tack or run for shelter, however furiously the winds of adversity may blow. It is to the fearless pilot that we should offer birthday greetings.

WILLIAM C. OWEN.

### SPECIAL FROM AUSTRALIA.

Even servile Australia, the home of political and religious superstition, sometimes receives a protest from a fiery son of revolt. Recently a youth 18 years of age, named Frank Thornton, received a month in jail for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to King Edward. This is the fruit of labor legislation—conscription. Everything appears topsy-turvy. The state labor government are laying off men, 500 at a time, complaining that money is tight. Meanwhile immigrants are pouring in at the rate of 1,000 a week, weakening the wage slaves in their fight with the privileged exploiter.

We celebrated the anniversary of Ferrer, also the Chicago anarchist martyrs, exhibiting the photos of our late comrades. To the disgrace of the local Socialists, they never mentioned a word about our murdered comrades. This is not surprising, as Socialists the world over have progressed into compromising, cowardly crawlers, fighting for power, position and pay. The revolutionary propaganda is all the fierier without these props of authority.

The celebration was a great success. A clear, blue Australian sky, the red flag containing the word "Anarchy," an audience consisting of fully 1,000 people ended in three cheers for the memory of our late comrades, coupled with success to the social revolution.

Yours fraternally,

J. W. HEMING.

### THE SYNDICALIST LEAGUE OF KANSAS CITY.

The League will soon be holding public meetings, and we have decided to purchase for these occasions 100 copies of "Syndicalism," by Earl C. Ford and Wm. Z. Foster; 100 of "The Social General Strike," by Arnold Roller, and 20 of "God and the State," by Josef Bakunin.

Soon after we have opened our meetings we intend to organize a clerks' union and a hotel workers' union. These rebels who can join neither of these unions will be urged to join some craft of the A. F. of L.

Fellow-workers Max Dezettel and O. V. True are planning to start an agitators' school, for the purpose of developing lecturers.

"The Toiler" is again being published, and once we have carried out our intentions this far, things will begin to come our way here in Kansas City.

M. G. BUMPUS, Sec'y.  
1411 Main St., Kansas City, Mo.

## THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

The one phase of the recent A. F. of L. convention worthy of particular remark was the increased strength and militancy of the Socialist minority. A year ago at the Atlanta convention the Socialists controlled but 2,800 votes, and timidly (or diplomatically) made formal declaration to the convention that they were not trying to capture the A. F. of L. This year they polled some 6,000 votes against their opponents' 12,000, boldly ran a candidate against Gompers, and let it be distinctly understood that they are out to capture the A. F. of L. Should their strength increase as much in the coming year as it did in the past one, they will be the majority faction in the A. F. of L. at its next convention.

Gompers, who a year ago defied the Socialist "borers from within," now practically concedes an approaching victory to them when he wails that "when" (not "if") the A. F. of L. changes it will find him unchanged. He specifically denies that he will swing to the Socialists "step by step" if given a chance. He is going to go down fighting, and he seems to consider the going down fighting process a certainty. He is beginning to recognize the patent fact that the days of "pure and simple" trade unionism are numbered.

The seizure of the A. F. of L. by the Socialists will be an event of pre-eminent importance to the labor movement. Whether or not it will be greatly beneficial will be largely determined by the attitude of the rebel direct actionists. If they pursue their customary attitude of hostility or indifference to the A. F. of L., the change of control will only produce a fraction of the good results (and a multiplication of the bad results), as though the direct actionists made a vigorous effort to make their influence felt. But, at any rate, regardless of the attitude of the direct actionists, undoubtedly enough improvements (or should one say changes?) will be made (such, for instance, as the abolition of the harmony of interest dogma, substitution of class ideals for craft ideals, the breaking away from the influence of the Civic Federation and the Catholic Church, the reduction of prohibitory initiation fees, broadening of the scope of the unions so as to take in the unskilled, etc., etc.), as will prevent the realization of the orthodox direct actionist plan of breaking up the A. F. of L. and substituting the I. W. W. for it.

Another obstacle to the realization of this latter plan is that the Socialists, once in control of the A. F. of L., will turn their attention to capturing the I. W. W. if it merits the trouble. After capturing the so-called "impregnable" A. F. of L., the Socialists should have no difficulty in capturing a fluid organization like the I. W. W. This should be the easier, as already a large minority—if not the majority—of the I. W. W.'s membership are Socialists. With the Socialists in control of both the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W., what would the direct actionists do? Start "boring from within" or go and start another dual organization?

It is worthy of remark that while the Socialists controlled one-third of the votes at the convention, the rebel direct actionists were altogether without representation. Although a numerous minority in the labor movement, they hadn't a single representative or spokesman in this convention representing almost 2,000,000 organized working men. It seems to the writer that this state of affairs testifies to the better generalship of the Socialists. As soon as they perceived their mistake in founding the I. W. W. (as originally pointed out by Max Hayes), the bulk of them gradually quit it under one pretext or another and devoted themselves to the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. meanwhile went on knocking the abuses afflicting the A. F. of L. and creating a considerable sentiment in its ranks for industrial unionism. Being a dual organization, it has been unable to exploit this to any great extent. The Socialists, on the other hand, being on the inside and without competition from the direct actionists, have organized the discontent created by the latter. It helped materially to swell their vote at Rochester. Are the direct actionists running a charity

propaganda bazaar? Is it their calling to thus pull chestnuts out of the fire for the Socialists?

It's high time that these foolish tactics cease and that the direct actionists take active part in the A. F. of L. The next few years, while the old craft union machines are breaking up and the new Socialist machines are being formed, will present a golden opportunity for the direct actionists to secure a foothold in the unions if they only "get busy." If, on the contrary, the present policy is pursued and the Socialists allowed a free rein, the direct actionists' task will be a much more difficult one. The Socialists will build up machines, beside which those now in existence will pale into insignificance. Now is the time for the direct actionists to line up against their great enemies of the future—the Socialists. It's idle to suppose they can escape the fight by trying to build a new labor movement that will be free from them.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

### SOME LIVE WIRES.

The following circular letter explains itself. Go, thou, and do likewise:

"Dear Sir and Brother:—At the convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, just closed in Milwaukee, there was one thing that stood out prominently above all things, and that was this—that a large number of delegates advocated and fought for all legislation of an advanced nature and practically voted as a unit. The result was that the progressive element met and formed an organization, which was named 'The International Foundry Workers' Educational League.' It was agreed that the formation of this league should be for educational purposes only, and local leagues will be formed in every city throughout the country. There will be no initiation fee, but a voluntary contribution will be accepted, if offered, and the dues will be 25c a month.

"A small monthly paper will be published from the international headquarters, which will advocate such measures as the referendum, industrial form of unionism, point out the inconsistencies of the National Civic Federation, publish live, interesting shop news from every section of the country dealing with every phase of the foundry, from the handy man right down to the female core maker, and try to inject a greater fighting spirit into the molders, or, in other words, stand first, last and always for militant unionism. There will be no salaried positions in the league, all work being done voluntarily. (Then follows list of officers.) A local is now being formed in this city, and having been informed that you are one of the progressive members of the I. M. U. of N. A., we extend an invitation to you to join with us now and become one of its members. Think it over and then act by filling out the blank below.

"Yours fraternally,

"FRANK L. BECKER.  
"2335 N. Sacramento Ave., Chicago, Ill."

### SPECIAL NOTICE.

Those leagues that have not already done so are urged to take action upon the proposed national constitution that has been submitted to them. It is high time that we perfect our temporary national organization and proceed to the regular election of officers, etc.

As the adoption of a national constitution is of prime importance to us, I hope this matter will be given special attention.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,  
Secretary S. L. of N. A.

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### VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE'S WORKS.

As there seems to be some misunderstanding concerning our purpose, we are obliged to call the attention of all those who are interested in the publication of Voltairine de Cleyre's writings to these facts: The editing committee for the works consists of Leonard D. Abbott, S. Yanovsky, and Hippolyte Havel. This committee will read and consider all existing material, either in print or in manuscript. Whether the works will be published in one or two volumes will depend on the amount of material, written or printed. As it is our desire to give a comprehensive view of the literary and propagandistic activity of our late comrade, it is our intention to publish the best of her poems, stories, speeches and propaganda essays. A short biographical sketch, written by a member of the committee, will introduce the work.

The Committee for the Publication of the Works of Voltairine de Cleyre has no private interest in the undertaking. It is a work of love on our part. Any one having manuscripts or letters of general interest written by Voltairine will oblige the committee by forwarding them to Hippolyte Havel, 145 Waverly Place, New York. The originals will be returned to the sender.

The funds collected are to remain in the hands of our treasurers, S. Yanovsky and Harry Kelly. Those persons who contribute to the funds are entitled to one or to several copies of the work, according to the amount they subscribe. So far, only a small amount of money has been collected. Are you interested in this undertaking? If so, support us either by subscription or by contribution. All money should be sent to Harry Kelly, care Mother Earth, 55 West 28th Street, New York, or to S. Yanovsky, 30 Canal Street, New York.

(Signed by full committee.)

### THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

#### Books and Pamphlets For Sale by the Syndicalist Publishing Association.

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COMMUNISTIC LIBRARY—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10 o'clock; every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 o'clock. Free lessons in English and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 711 Hudson street, Trenton, N. J.

WANTED—Working people for a co-operative colony in Tennessee. Address H. E. Sawdon, Harrison, Tenn.